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that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jivaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard
demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though,
that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence
in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular
kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance
to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [572]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or
friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jivaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at [593]

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754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jívaro create
• 572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceed-
[593] ing the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

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tend to have a higher degree of unity than is normally the case.

The relationship between a trading partner and his neighbors who are not his formal *amigri* is a key aspect of the system. A man becomes an *amigri* not to accumulate and hoard wealth, but to dispense it in his neighborhood, to gain prestige and obligations. The distribution of these goods locally is normally done piecemeal as the trading partner's relatives and others ask him for them. Informants, in saying that a man becomes an *amigri* "so that people will like him," explicitly recognize that the main purpose of being a trading partner, and of distributing the goods obtained thereby, is to acquire friends. The people who receive goods from a partner become morally obligated to him until they reciprocate with either an equivalent amount of goods or with services, the latter usually in the form of aid in the trading partner's social disputes and feuds. The *amigri* is usually far from upset if his neighbors do not repay him immediately, for the longer they delay in repayment, the longer period of time they are obligated to him. A trading partner is also likely to be aided by his neighbors in disputes for the additional reason that they wish to protect their future source of supply of trade goods. Altogether, although the usual trading partner is not a community leader, he obtains an above average degree of social security in a society where security is not easily obtained, by exchanging trade goods for friendship and obligations.

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These native traders are the chief means whereby the interior Jívaro have acquired significant quantities of machetes, steel axes, and firearms from the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. Chains of native traders also connect the interior Jívaro with the Canelos tribe to the north and with the Achuara Jivaroans

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rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manufactured goods by entering into any labor relationship with whites.

The Achuara also rely upon the Jívaro to supply them with much of their salt. The Achuara have access to a distant rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Río Marañon far to the south in Peru, but prefer to trade with the Jívaro to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in the Cordillera de Curucú, one near the upper Río Mangosiza and the other near the Río Yaupi (see Map 2 and Plate 18).

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit each other every two and a half to four months. The visiting trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from the white-Jívaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuara-made products.

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and thereafter address one another in the diminutive as "little friend," i.e., *amiči*. While the term *amigri* is the third person possessive form of *amigü*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the development and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[6] Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after a series of informal visits, during which they may have exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the formalized trading partnership, each spends two or more months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other; a cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man kneels

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beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

In this first exchange of goods between *aniqri*, and also in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowgun, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kwir*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the neighborhoods of the two *aniqri*. When the former host (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *aniqri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

Aniqri are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods with each other, at least over a period of several months, if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior 439
region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:
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Trade Goods from the West	EQUALS	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (*tsuampi*)

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The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jivaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict 441
accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is 572
exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jivaro 442
do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consistently attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *amigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

The *amigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that 441
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441 of siblings and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading
• 572 partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*amičī*)
593 in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yatsučī*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight [602] with his "friend." A man is born and married into his personal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

441 The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner
628 involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if pos-
721 sible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus, when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading [572] partner's *amigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *amigri* is absolutely essential when a Jívaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *amigri* institution, well-developed Jívaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *amigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amići*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obligation; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables," especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.